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Marquesan Sexual Behavior 000

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/1/ Marquesan Sexual Behavior

The primary purpose of this paper is to present an objective report of Marquesan sexual behavior as obtained during the years 1956, 1957 and 1958 on the island of Nuku Hiva in the northern group of the Marquesas. These data will be compared with ethnographic and historical documentary evidence concerning sexual behavior, whenever possible. Further, comparisons will be made with earlier reports of the sexual behavior of the Marquesans and other Polynesian groups, as the data permits. Finally, conclusions will be presented concerning a number of aspects of Marquesan sexual behavior that have aroused some interest in previous reports. [131]

The data upon which this report is based were collected while the author was carrying on archeological fieldwork in the Marquesas Islands, under the sponsorship of the American Museum of Natural History of New York. During these years, a total of 12 months were spent in the Marquesas archipelago, mainly on the island of Nuku Hiva. All other islands in the archipelago except Ua Huka were visited, however. 122 114

As familiarity with the native culture increased, a number of problems developed in which the evidence of archaeology and observable native customs of the present failed to coincide with certain of the previously published accounts of Marquesan aboriginal culture. Many of these /2/ problems have been dealt with in my report of the archeological excavations on Nuku Hiva (Suggs, R.C. 1961. The Archaeology of Nuku Hiva, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. Amer. Mus. Anthro. Papers Vol. 49 Pt. 1.). They involve such topics as the derivation and age of the Marquesan occupation, population density in prehistoric times, native political organization, economic structure, etc. 121 [113]

An important area in which a discrepancy between reports and observed behavior appeared was that of sexual behavior. The presentation of Marquesan sexual behavior in Kardiner and Linton (Kardiner, A. (Ed.) The Individual and His Society. New York, 1939.), quite familiar to all students of culture and [113]

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper. 121

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their native tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood. 122 123 191

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they become a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole population. [609] [522]

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions. 122

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the 124 [521]

/3 cont./
daily conversation of Marquesans of post-pubertal age, the appearance of a note book and pencil brings about a rapid change of the subject of conversation at best, if not a stony silence. Even the most shameless young buck will cease his bragging in this situation. There is an intense distrust of individuals who would seek to record such information, which is intensified if the intended informant believes that he will be identified by name in the notes as the source of a block of data. Close friendship with the investigator seems to be of relatively little avail in altering these attitudes on the part of the informants. 124 [521] 123 124

/4/ My wife collected a number of female reproductive histories from women, many of whom she had treated or advised on personal problems, but was forced to abandon attempts to obtain information of frequency of intercourse in marriage, although data on menstruation and childbirth was readily obtained.

On the other hand, direct interrogation was quite possible in certain areas bordering on sexual behavior, especially on such matters as native medical preparations, childbirth practices and postpartum care. Curiosity in these matters was tolerated and even encouraged at times.

Direct interrogation, therefore, was abandoned as a means of obtaining information of an intimate nature, but was utilized in the gathering of collateral data on subjects more or less related to the main object of investigation.

Observation of random situations provided much data on such aspects as courting, autoeroticism, etc., but the more intimate details of sexual behavior could naturally not be observed first hand.

The method whereby much of the data were obtained was made possible by the circumstances of the archeological excavations which we were carrying out. Employing large gangs of workmen, it was often necessary to spend long periods supervising the clearing of archeological sites or restoration of the areas excavated. During the work, a steady conversation persisted among the workmen, usually revolving around sexual topics. /5/ In such a situation it was relatively easy to jot down notes on such information as was overheard in notes, as 123 521 [126]

/5 cont./
the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross-checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethnomedicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Marquises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent

/8 cont./

detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions. 161 119

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the proportions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%. 162

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child. 843 842

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating (mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided 841 842 [997]

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [797]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits, lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature, it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa, hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife was called upon to treat two young women who were continually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites. The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody discharge,in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door, without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation [776]
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted. 847 [824]

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea). 843

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often requested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua). [262]

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby." [522]

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives. 844 [656] [743]

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband [352] sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177] contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412] rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165] cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [825] normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants [753] do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely [178]

/11 cont./ take care that the afterbirth is buried well out of reach of the pigs and dogs, beneath a pile of rocks. 844 [178]

/12/ The portion of the umbilical cord attached to the umbilicus is tied up with a medicinal compound (mea pa ku) consisting of the leaves of the papa (Phaseolus amoenus ?). After three days, the cord should dry and fall off. Another medicinal preparation for the drying of the umbilical stump is powdered grey tufa or powdered, stiff volcanic clays found in various areas of the islands. This powder is sprinkled on to absorb the moisture from the cord. After the cord falls off an astringent preparation is placed on the umbilicus, made of leaves of ka ka 'ahue (Diellia brownii E. Brown). This preparation is believed to have a beneficial effect if applied to the entire body of the child. It should be noted at this point that Marquesan native medicine, as it exists today, makes use of a large number of astringents for a variety of purposes. 846 757 [824] [824]

After childbirth, it was formerly the custom for the husband and wife to proceed immediately to a stream and there indulge in intercourse. This was believed to be of therapeutic value in producing a good flow of blood and fluids, and in aiding the internal organs of the mother to return to normal condition. Elderly women who have practiced this are positively in favor of it, declaring that it is unfortunate that girls are not maintaining the custom at present. The custom, still widespread in the 1920's, apparently became rare by the 1930's. Some individuals may still observe it in the southern archipelago. Although this custom is practically, if not completely, extinct, there is still routinely very little time elapsed between the birth of the child and the resumption of normal sexual relations. /13/ A period of one to two weeks appears to be about average, especially if one desires to procreate again, as it is believed that conception is easiest within a month or so after birth. 846 757 178 [833] [842]

The woman must not attempt to rub her perineum (ti 'a) if it is painful as a result of birth. For the first few days after birth it is necessary to eat nothing but fermented breadfruit paste (ma), heated by dropping hot cooking stones (ke'a umu) into it. This is to be eaten three times a day. If the sclera of the eyes 846 [826] [757]

/13 cont./
(kiko mata) are not white, this is symptomatic of an unhealthy condition, for which a specific (pa'a'u -- unidentified species) is recommended. 846 757

It is especially important for the mother to avoid the use of salt, as in the prenatal period, as its use will result in the infant being afflicted with mouth sores and "cradle-cap" (mate kea). Should this occur, a remedy consisting of the leaves of the kenae tree (Erythrinia indica) is mixed in the fermented breadfruit paste before it is heated for the mother's consumption. [753] [824]

The flow of lochia (vai kua) is believed to stop after a week or so with the restoration of the internal organs (e ti 'a hou). Should the perineum not heal, however, it is symptomatic of the retention by the woman of portions of the afterbirth, etc., known as kau tama (literally: baby debris) which must be passed before recovery is possible. To induce the passing of this harmful material, the leaves of the unidentified pa'a'u plant are again utilized, to be crushed and taken internally. Leaves of the Phaseolus are used in the same fashion for chronic /14/ complaints after birth. [824]

After birth, the child is fed on a little gruel of thinned breadfruit paste, crushed cooked shrimp juice, or both. In the past, special stone pestles were prepared for the crushing of shrimp, for the infant's first meal. Stimulating the flow of colostrum (vai ha'ama) by nursing is thought to aid in the evacuation of all harmful substances which may reside in the mother's body after birth. Once the flow of milk (vai 'u) begins, the supplement of gruel is dispensed with. At present many parents use canned milk for the infant in place of gruel and even sugared water is used as a supplement. In such cases, the milk is prepared in any small bottle (usually a Perrier water bottle) and fitted with a store-bought nipple. 844 [412] 853 [178]

Once the child begins nursing he continues to be fed, on demand, until the age of 2 to 3 years. In one case, weaning did not occur until 4 years of age. Nursing by women other than the physiological mother is common. Aunts of the child (paternal, maternal or both) are often wet nurses. These

/14 cont./ These 853
individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [751]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha hai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan- [476]
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1[i.e., the child's aunts-- Analyst]

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178]

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 954 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

/17 cont./ 856 757

role in adolescent and adult sex life. The medications administered are astringents which are also believed to possess cleansing qualities. They are intended, according to informants, to shrink the mucus membrane lining of the vaginal canal and generally aid in increasing muscle tone of the coccygeo-gluteal muscles. Furthermore, they are believed to inhibit the production of lubricatory fluids (vai to'e) in the vaginal canal and to suppress vaginal malodorousness. Administered after birth, they also cleanse the vagina of the female infant of superfluous dried mucus and effluviae after birth. The results attributed to these medications -- decrease in size of vaginal canal, increased muscle tone and inhibition [832] of mucus production, and /18/ suppression of malodorousness -- are of major importance as qualifications for a sexual partner. These qualities are most frequently mentioned when males discuss the relative sexual merits of women. The Marquesans 186 believe that women from Tahiti and white women in general 757 are possessed of rather large genitalia and endowed with a 856 superfluity of vaginal secretions which Marquesans regard as 826 contributing to malodorousness. The use of the astringents enumerated below supposedly raises the Marquesan women far above the level of either Tahitians or Whites in terms of their physical attributes for the sex act.

The astringents used are several in number; the plant 757 sources of many occur only in isolated areas and hence are 856 limited in their distribution.

tuei'au (Antidesma sp. ?). The leaves are pounded and mixed with a small amount of water. This mixture is then strained through cloth and 1 or 2 drops placed daily in the vagina after the child has been bathed. This can be begun as soon as the child starts to crawl, but not before. This particular medication is very common in the valley of Hatiheu on the north coast of Nuku Hiva. The only known stand of the tueiau is in the valley of Ha'atuatua, near Natiheu on the crest of ridge forming the

/18 cont./

northeastern side of the valley. Despite its scarcity it is most popular of all the preparations. 757 856

/19/

ko ku'u (Staphylea sp. ?). The leaves of the plant are prepared and administered in the same manner as described above. Can be administered at three weeks of age.

ko'i'e The nut of a coconut (C. nucifera) fallen at a very young stage called koie is used for this medication. The nut is crushed on a stone and squeezed for juice, which is administered three times daily in one or two drops from the time the infant crawls until it reaches an age of a year.

moho ki'o (Achyrathes aspera?). A branch is grated against an abrasive stone and the scrapings squeezed in a cloth after mixing with a small amount of water. The juice can be administered one week after birth.

vai ma This medication consists of water poured from fermented breadfruit paste when it has been removed from storage, pounded with a stone pestle to remove lumps and moistened. The excess water, mixed with urine, can be used as a vaginal astringent.

ki'i kehika (Szygium jambos ?). The bark of the kehika tree (the well-known pomme rouge of Eastern Polynesia), is grated, mixed with water and squeezed through a cloth in the same fashion as the preceding medications.

ki'i 'ama The bark of the candlenut tree (Aleurites trilobita) can be used in the same fashion as the above medication.

/20/

pota ko The juice of the fruits of the mi'o tree (Thespesnia populnea) are crushed for their juice which is administered in the same fashion as noted above.

/20 cont./

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them.

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however.

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained.

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house,

/21 cont./ 86A
children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite 513
small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when
a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it
from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently
prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although
the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the
acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the associa- 86A
tion of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" [854]
during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant
in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children.
Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very
early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early
beginning of sexual play.

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins 839
about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male 864
children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation
technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the
penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the
sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example
of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on
female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of
women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female
investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story
by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl [871]
in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally
masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female
masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation,
however, as males make frequent reference to female
practices.

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite fre- 859
quently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation 864
contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can 839
ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger
members of these groups are physiologically incapable of
ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on
their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the
actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. 837 8CA [839]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk. 866 868 859

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

/24 cont./ 868 866 857 [273]

alcohol, or aiding in construction jobs. They are taught fishing techniques, woodworking and hunting. Instruction in most cases is entirely informal, by example rather than precept.

Loose groups form during childhood, consisting of children of the same sex and approximately the same age. These groups fluctuate in size, splitting or merging, but attachments formed at this stage are life-long, generally. The groups often serve as work groups -- for example, a group of boys will go off together to change the tethers of their parents horses; or a girls' group will always be found collecting shellfish together. For girls, such groups offer a certain amount of protection against advances made by males, especially as puberty approaches and sexual maturation makes a girl more physically attractive. It is difficult to detach a girl from such a group, even if she is willing, for it is practically impossible to ensure that other members of the group will not carry the story home to spread it through the village. 857

Children's groups do not operate independently of adult authority. On the contrary, they are quite subject to it, and, as has been noted above, often function in direct response to adult commands. The /25/ time spent in such groups is not great, except on Sundays or during the school year, when the groups function during the school day. As the boys grow older, however, more time is spent in the company of the group during the early evening.

Thus, informal groups of children of the same sex and approximately similar ages form during childhood, serving both recreational and economic purposes and offering a beginning for associations that will last throughout life.

Puberty

By the onset of puberty both boys and girls have acquired a large amount of experience and knowledge about sexual matters. For boys (and possibly for the girls) much of the actual experience is of a homosexual or play nature. Some instruction comes from grandparents, who stand in a joking relationship to the children. This appears to be most extensive in the case 864 [603]

/25 cont./

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior.

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair.

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger.

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents/(which terminates at this time), are emphasized.

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic

/26 cont./ 881
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo [183]
circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns
carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the prac- [797]
tice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused 304
to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately 626
yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends,
and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their
late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of
constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who
are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct
pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the
form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose 304
approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the opera-
tion involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on
the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised [463]
at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation.
It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents genera- [602]
tion perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize
the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly
over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and
the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or [412]
knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as [177]
it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the [824]
aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is 304
applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. 752
This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark [278]
('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue
(Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we
could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing,
at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned;
then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-
heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the
stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the
healing process.

/28 cont./ 834

Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [1197] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/29 cont./
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls 836
begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first
child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered
by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional color-
ing attached to circumcision for the male, however. First
intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring
in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the
brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [197]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [891]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their
first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission
lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to
harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley
wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of
finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their
more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not
confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the
house, with younger children or with the parents close by;
forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all
windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the
house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic.
The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/31 cont./ 548
clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and 648
sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for 836
that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters 554
form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a 648
resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly
traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the de- 826
velopment of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usu- 832
ally while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [145]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially ac- 833
complished before the first intercourse as a result of the [857]
strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) [839]
and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and [492]
discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may [152]
feel.

/32 cont./ 826 832 757

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/34/

After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/35 cont./

for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however, and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

/36 cont./ 589
their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their 883
welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence.

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, cloth- 883
ing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are 548
quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted.

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene 883
and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the 515
Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes 832
and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls.

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an [201]
accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act.

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred. 832

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is characteristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words. 883 834 883 522 198 834

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked in pig latin. [173]

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

/39 cont./ 198 522 834 883

Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which [551] are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor.

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys 834 often results in what amounts to athletic contests. A group of 883 girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 883 526

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation 832 with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. In each [177] valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and [197] adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu.

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and 832 girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 883

/40 cont./

described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys 832 883
on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as [212]
handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl 836
in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for 831
a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood 833
begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some [832]
massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- "(What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!" Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act.

/43/The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Hakate'a literally means: "make

/43 cont./ 192
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage, especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect- [602] [609]
evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocu- [177] [797]
tions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe (rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply increased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tendencies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Intercourse usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscuous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, [648]
both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

/45 cont./
girls to eliminate the potential threat that they pose to any previously established unions and marriages. 836 648

Assigning white males to promiscuous girls is often a means of expressing antagonism against the whites, the implications being that only the girls that no one really wants are good enough for the whites. Often a girl on the way to an assignation with a European will have intercourse with a number of native males first; or will leave her lover momentarily ostensibly to wash, and meet native males surreptitiously. This is regarded as a rather appropriate trick to play on the unsuspecting European, for it is believed to reduce the sexual potential of the girl. [832]

If Europeans show signs of establishing permanent or semipermanent residence, or if they have great wealth or position, however, gradually the resistance against their presence falls away, and they can establish a relationship with one of the non-promiscuous girls. In these cases, the economic benefits derived from being a ward of a European far outweigh the disruptive influence that such a person might wield on native social relations. 836 648 182

The promiscuous girl provides a sort of protection for the other women of the community against disruptive influences from the outside, acting as a shock-absorber against the sexual aggression of strangers. There are certain exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed at more length below, involving the use of sexual favors for marked economic gain.

/46/ Through these contacts with an older age-group of the same culture and completely alien groups, which possess different patterns of sexual behavior, the promiscuous girl acquires a somewhat different pattern of sexual behavior. As will be discussed below, the mature adult pattern of sexual behavior is characterized by an increased amount of erotic foreplay, oral stimulation, variety in intercourse positions and prolongation of the sexual act, to mention a few major points. The promiscuous girls are exposed to this pattern and learn to meet its requirements. In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836 648 [833] ooo

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836
men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced 833
with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the 889
standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include 836
young unmarried males, the older males who are married and
strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual [837]
partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far [648]
as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is [578]
little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, [833]
the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial 833
nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a 836
direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/47 cont./
sexual play with the girl, caressing or kissing her breasts, while she is having intercourse with another. Intercourse is quite rapid, and sometimes accompanied by rhythmical muffled cries by the girl. After intercourse, the girl usually wipes her vulva with a piece of her ka'e'u, wrap-around skirt, and immediately receives the next male. A thorough washing of the genitalia is performed only after all the males have been served to their satisfaction. The usual post-orgasm wash for the girl /48/ is abandoned because it is believed that the repeated washing, by suppressing all vaginal lubricatory fluids, will cause extreme discomfort to both parties. Serial intercourse is quite common, apparently not greatly diminishing in frequency since contact times. Numerous occurrences were reported during our stay, usually involving 5 or 6 males. One outstanding example, still the talk of Nuku Hiva, is the case of a girl who served in a few hours the complete roster of two football squads, numbering 40 men, in Taiohae during a gathering for the archipelago soccer play-offs. This was believed by all to be an extreme case; even the girl herself acknowledged that she had overstepped her abilities, suffering a pelvic injury as a result.

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Individual intercourse among the promiscuous girls resembles that practiced among older married adults, as has been noted above. There is an air of relaxation about a relationship of this type, as the fear of apprehension by an outraged parent is eliminated and therefore the need for quick completion of the act is eliminated. Most often these meetings occur in the houses or shelters maintained by one of the group of girls, or in any of a number of unoccupied houses found throughout the valleys. There is an increase in foreplay and complete nudity by both parties is usual. There is an effort on the girl's part to present a pleasing appearance in the nude. If clothing is used by the girl, it is generally a ka'eu wrap-around to cover the pelvis, and is only used when going to wash or urinate.

/49/ There is generally complete permissiveness about oral stimulation of the genitalia, extending to stimulation

/49 cont./
to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832]
comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521]
images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tute hakaiki --

/50 cont./
"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen
wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a
conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through
their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into
their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the
following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach
and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite
slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be
helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious
of each others endowments, often conducting comparative
sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along
the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [804]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and
objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bath-
ing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the
penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the
male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears
maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa'ishota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus. [192]

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small and the females available as sexual partners are either few or completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent opportunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

838 883 [361] [162] [162] [123] [522]

/54 cont./ 838

There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles. [462]

Two other homosexuals, not transvestites but very markedly effeminate, were also married, using their wives to attract males and /55/ compromise them for homosexual acts. Both men maintained fairly regular male lovers. Other males who showed interest in the wives were propositioned and promised use of the wife if they would indulge in pederasty or fellation first with the husband. The women involved in these relationships did not appear to be overly concerned about the husband's deviation. Both of these individuals practiced fellatio with frequency as well as pederasty. At least one experienced a very strong orgasm during pederasty. Natives who had consorted with him remarked that he was "just like a woman: making noise in his orgasm." Fellatio was resorted to for the purpose of exciting a lagging male before pederasty, as well as to produce an orgasm. [832]

Female homosexuality occurs, but no data on frequency is available. One case of bestiality was noted in which a sexually deprived young girl in an isolated valley had used a dog to perform cunnilinctus with some regularity, in the absence of males. 839

Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pundanus fruit segments [824]

/55 cont./ 839
are often used for this purpose, as a result of which one often [824]
hears males jokingly refer to "the tired banana" (meika pa'u pa'u)
before girls who might have been indulging in the activity. [522]

Incest is by no means unheard of in the Marquesas: in 835
fact, many Tahitians cite incest as one of the distinguishing characteristics of /56/ Marquesan sexual behavior which, however, is a wild exaggeration.

Now, the incest tapu are no longer clear. Furthermore, it is uncertain what the former practices were. On the parental generation, the tapu extends to both parents' relatives of the opposite sex of ego, regardless of age. In cases where mother's sister is almost equal in age to ego, the tapu still holds. Even in cases where a male's mother's sister is extremely promiscuous, sexual relationships are forbidden.

On ego's generation, tapu apply to all siblings of opposite sex and to classificatory siblings of the opposite sex (cousins). How far out these tapu extended could not be determined. In marriage there is a kind of semisanctioned relationship between in-laws of the opposite sex. Intercourse between a man and his wife's sisters, or a woman and her husband's brothers, is quite common. One informant described how he repeatedly induced his wife to stay overnight at her parents' home so that he would have access to her younger sister, who he preferred.

In case of death, there is a preference shown toward the 587
levirate. The son of an informant was killed while pearl-diving in the Tuamotu archipelago in August 1956, leaving a wife and three children. The informant immediately dispatched a younger son to the widow, who was residing in Tahiti, with the hope that the son could replace his brother in the family. He said that it would be "nice" because the two boys were /57/ of the same family, hence the children would not have to grow up with an alien father who might not love them as much.

Actual cases of incest within the nuclear family are 835
few, but receive much publicity. During the author's stay

/57 cont./
on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional reported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander. Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relationship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the relatively small size of population units, in many of which it is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female. In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35.

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Although the male:female ratio of the total population does not indicate any scarcity of females, the distribution of females over the inhabited areas is by no means even. Therefore, although a large surplus exists in one valley, a scarcity of near-absence of females may occur in an adjacent valley. Although such inequalities place strains on the day-to-day sex life of the unattached male, they do not ultimately effect his chances for marriage, however: for anyone seriously looking for a wife can move into a well-populated valley at will or make regular weekend visits. 162 [484]

Bestiality occurs, as a substitute for normal sexual relations. It is not frequent to all appearances, although the reticence of the Marquesan on matters believed to be abhorred by whites, may account for the paucity of evidence concerning this practice. 839 [124]

/59/ One report was obtained of a girl who had repeatedly used a dog as a cunnilinctor. The girl was living in an isolated area at the time the practice began, where no male sexual partners were available. Having had some sexual experience prior to this isolation, the girl experienced deprivation, as a result of which she began this practice. My informant definitely regarded this as an unusual practice, stating that he had not heard of it previously.

References to male bestial practices were made in oblique fashion on a variety of occasions. Many of these appeared in the context of general conversation about hunting expeditions or explorations of one variety or another, where men were isolated for long periods of time. In such conditions, feelings of sexual deprivation were generally said to result in a reappraisal of the available non-human sources of sexual gratification: horses, dogs and other quadrupeds. The implication was that gratification was usually obtained by anal intercourse. [521]

A very frequently overheard reference was that to copulation with chickens. It was stated, most commonly, that in intercourse the chicken would gyrate wildly, flapping its wings, producing a cooling breeze. This was called the "Nuku Hiva fan" by informants.

/59 cont./ 183 831

Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained.

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Normal heterosexual relationships during this period consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality. [838]

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As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl depends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large.

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/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the Marquesans, also have an established role which they can play in the community.

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy.

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come.

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one.

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing.

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The

/62 cont./ The 586 197 997
dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648] preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595 ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183] realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466] relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal cul- [178] ture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554 much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837 It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/65 cont./ 192

haka ka'aka -- "in the gecko-manner" (haka na'ana = Hiva Oa dialect). 585 833

2. patu hope - "stick the buttocks" - female kneels or bends over, and introduction of the penis is made from behind. Also known as titoi ihoraue - horse intercourse - or titoi peto - dog intercourse.
3. haka noho - "sitting style" - in which the female sits astride the male's lap, facing him.
4. haka pe'e - Male is supine, female sits astride.
5. titoi puta keo - coitus in ano.
6. titoi - normal ventral-ventral position.

In addition to these terms, indicating specific positions, there are a large number of synonyms used to refer to the sex act itself. Many are used in "polite" company, others used among males as a sort of quasi-secret slang, others are simply slang, near the level of our Anglo-Saxon four-letter words. 192 195 585 833

Polite synonyms:

ke'u	play
piki	mount
hano	get
hana hau	
hau	bad act or work
hana he'o	hard act or work

/66/

hana animara	animal act (contact
mo'e	sleep

Male Slang:

soana	(Samoan = to sit ?)
tiko	a recent Marquesan innovation
te kio'e'i te 'ua ma	the rat in the ma pit

More Commonly Used Slang:

ve'o	stab or impale
titoi	copulate
heko	copulate or rut

The last terms listed are those most commonly used among members of one sex, but seldom used before members

/66 cont./ 585 833 [192] [195]
of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level 159 833 837
is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. [551] During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. [158] His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. [733] He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization. [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. 833 888 [832]
Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above.

/67 cont./

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not. 833

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts. 837 [835]

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation. [833]

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural. 838

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females. 839

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between 837 52

/69 cont./ 837 521
two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news.

Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse 684 extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the [152] injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It 934 is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest 837 in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to [518] be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband.

When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of 837 a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare.

Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/70 cont./
lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually 837
results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive [833]
a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This practice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy, and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations for a time.

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by 833 887
individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced frequency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well as engaging in sexual relations with their mates.

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their attentions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to in- 521 522
dulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a 831
range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature understood by only one or a few of the onlookers, to what in our society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour. Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a sexual topic.

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have been discussed previously, referring to the male and female genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle expressions and figures of speech are used; and often the conversation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

/71 cont./ 521
and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being pro- 522
duced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. 831
These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the un-
initiated listeners will be completely deluded.

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already 192
been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," 195
p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented 831
here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over
Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The [197]
word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate,"
and nominalized to mean "semen."

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swim-
ming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that sev-
eral of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments,
and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading
water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals.
The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded
to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded
that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells.
From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on con- 521
versation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except 831
in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect re- [602]
lations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, [606]
are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relation-
ships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature.

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed con- 831
siderably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both 179
with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the
first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities
were still in use. These were most often directed at an in- [598]
dividual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than
referring to sexual matters.

/73 cont./

Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed mat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectively or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 515 white ethnic groups. 648 [538]

/74 cont./ 186
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, 515
arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity 648
toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn [154]
more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along [136]
the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 169
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/75 cont./ Having 192 607 831 [177]
been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another.

Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by the generic name of mate'uapu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.) 164

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

mimi hati	"broken urine" - gonorrhea	164
hao'ehi	"white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked.	192
pa'atita	"many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within.	

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease 164

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene.

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment.

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation.

/78/ haika mimihati — "medicine for broken urine"
ki'i'ama — skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
ki'i kehika — skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
'aka hau — roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
'aka outi — root of Cordyline terminalis
noni vehine — fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
noni vahana — (round and square stemmed respectively)

/78 cont./ 757

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut ('ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times daily for three days.

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!) 757 797 177

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here. 757

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 164 175

/79 cont./ 164 175
crew (1596) got on so infamously with the natives that it is difficult to see how there could have been too much chance to transmit the diseases to the native population. It is almost certain, however, that the diseases were present among Mendana's crew, as they had come from Peru and Chile where venereal diseases were endemic among the population.

In 1791 Marchand (p. 113) reported that his crew showed some symptoms of venereal disease after leaving the bay in which Mendana had stopped /80/ nearly 200 years earlier. However, with the diagnostic techniques at their stage of development in 1791, it is quite possible the crew members in question might have been afflicted with some nonspecific urethritis, resembling a venereal infection.

This explanation is all the more likely in view of the statements given to Krusenstern in 1804 by an English deserter who had resided in both northern and southern groups of the archipelago for a number of years previous. This individual declared that there was no venereal disease present at that time. It was probably shortly after that the diseases were introduced by whaling crews who flocked to the islands in the early years of the nineteenth century. The American occupation of Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, ensured that the diseases were firmly implanted on Nuku Hiva. By the time of the French occupation in 1840, venereal disease had so spread among the breeding population that sterility was a very common phenomenon (Garcia 1843).

Discussion and Comparisons

A. Population

Estimates of the maximum aboriginal population of the Marquesas have been very confusing, as most European visitors to these islands saw very limited segments of the population of one or two islands, and then made estimates for the populations of those islands which in turn were used by later writers as the basis for further extrapolations, yielding "estimates" of the 161 174

/80 cont./
entire archipelago census. An example of such /81/ extrapolations is shown in the compilation of Fr. Simeon Delanas, a French missionary in the Marquesas who wrote extensively on Marquesan culture and natural history:

Year	Source	Population
1595	Mendana	55,000
1791	Marchand	32,000
1804	Krusenstern	70,000
1813	Porter	230,400
1838	D'urville	25,000
1843	du Petit Thouars	20,200

To the other extreme are the extremely conservative estimates of the population such as that made by Linton (1938, p. 150) in which he stated that tribes rarely consisted of more than 1000 people.

On the basis of extended archeological studies, historic documents and legendary evidence discussed at length elsewhere (Suggs 1960, Suggs 1961), it appears that the peak population of the archipelago was between 100,000 and 125,000 and was reached in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

After the beginning of continual European contact about 1790, and especially following the French occupation of 1840, the population dwindled rapidly due to the introduction of children's communicable diseases, social diseases and tuberculosis. Firearms aided and added to the anarchy resulting from the collapse of the native political system. /82/ Furthermore, there is evidence of a very severe, prolonged famine in the early nineteenth century that may have wiped out as much as one-third of the population.

Soon after French contact, some attempts at census-taking were made and provide us with certain data illustrating the rapid decline of the population up to the turn of the century.

Source	Date	Total Population
Jouan	1856	12,550
des Vergnes	1872	6,045

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/83 cont./
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before. 162 175 648

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population. 175 563

/85 cont./

At present on the island of Nuku Hiva (pop. ca. 980), there are only 4 individuals who can lay any claim to pure Marquesan ancestry. Some 13 others have made attempts to pass themselves off to visitors as being 'enana toitoi -- true Marquesans --, but their mixed ancestry is revealed with little inquiry. 162 144

Complete data on the ratio of male to female in the population were not available to me. However, enough data exist to show that the ratio has held fairly constant during a period of unusual flux in the past. 162

In the period between 1882 and 1897, during which the population dropped by about 12 per cent, the male-female proportions of the population were as follows: [175]

/86/

Year	Male	Female
1882	51.21%	48.79%
1897	52.01%	47.99%

The same source displays the remarkable effect of the lowered birth rate on the population as a whole by the proportions of adults to children (assumed to be those of 20-plus years and less than 20, respectively, as frequently appears in other French records). 163 175

Year	Adults	Children
1882	76%	24%
1897	76.50%	23.50%

This accounts for the top-heavy appearance of the Marquesan population, as recorded by many observers around the turn and the first decades of the twentieth century, in which many valleys contained nothing but adult inhabitants.

Further data are available for the period between 1897 and the 1951 and 1956 censuses. In the 1931 census, the population of the northern Marquesas, comprising the islands of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka, numbered 1206. Of these, 51% were male, 49% female. Although these data are not for the entire population of both northern and southern groups, they can be said to represent a valid sample. 161 175 [162]

The data available for calculating birth and death rates were less complete than those used for total population and 163 165 175

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100.

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva.

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago.

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)."

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up."

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment.

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. [14]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past.

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a

/91 cont./

sturdy physique, which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, the behavior may actually be a local development. It is doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to

/94 cont./
ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was given concerning the relative chronological order of this ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche ceremony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, therefore, that if had any direct or close relationship to puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, resembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid 221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only survivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of rationship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/97 cont./
relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom.

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body.

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 864 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

/99 cont./ 175 698 864
heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period appears to require some qualification, in view of the context in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the changes are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14. 833 881 178 834 [183]

A great deal has been written about the existence of adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from 114 883 571

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains a considerable amount of information on general and special

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571
skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth. It is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's. [114] [648] [797] [304]

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia. 584 834 182 [171]

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times. 883 178 [833] [342]

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual 571 831 178

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/104 cont./
not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numerous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture in general) which appear to have been of European introduction. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly Western type kissing in general, and a large number of idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with particular individuals. However, these last are relatively superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of behavioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus, there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allowing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch (Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimulation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held effective power over the male contingent by the distribution of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/106 cont./ 462
tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923).

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/

[888] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women vis a vis men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources. 114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/107 cont./ 114 562 833 [177]
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present. [864]

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching (nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades. 833 [115] [836] [837] [554]

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 182 838

/108 cont./
aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which

/111 cont./ 178 595 [622]
fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available. [162] [14]

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death. [622] [776]

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy). [538]

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century. 837 [538] [182]

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action. 178 762 [797]

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the 121

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120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan-European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

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[731] [726] [439] [164]

The French occupation was preceded by a period during which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital information on the culture, which was subsequently used to hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

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in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist.

In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this

/115 cont./ 154 182 648 797 831
context that sex is of great value. Of all the things most troublesome to the missionary, sexual misdeeds are near the top of the list; therefore, there is no better way to act out one's aggression than to continually transgress the rules laid down by the overlords. The transgressions are seldom brought to the attention of the missionary, by virtue of the fact that Marquesans do not consider truth in the confessional to be necessary, and a solid native front opposes missionary efforts to learn details of any misdeeds.

An excellent example of the effectiveness of this information blocking is the continual male invasion of the dormitories of the convent school in Hiva Oa, every night. [871] So far as could be determined, this has never come to the attention of the school authorities within the memory of anyone living, which is almost incredible when one considers the "gold-fish bowl" quality of life in any Marquesan community.

/116/ The strong antagonism to the mission can be 154 seen in the continual moral testing of these individuals carried 182 on by the native population. Constant probing for weak- 797 nesses in sexual mores, most often by women, if not success- 831 ful, results in a proliferation of fantasy imputing all sorts of sexual misconduct to the missionary involved. The slightest deviation by a missionary from an impossible set of moral standards set up by the natives is occasion for tremendous gossip and speculation about the state of the individual's moral decay. The relatively few actual faux pas committed by missionaries are remembered in almost clinical detail.

Thus, it appears that native sexual behavior has been 182 relatively well-preserved over the tragic period since the 831 French occupation at least, functioning as a form of passive resistance directed mainly at the mission, which [797] has played such a large role in the destruction of the native culture, a role the importance of which has by no means escaped the Marquesans of today. Despite the disappearance of the native religious, social and economic forms which gave much of this behavior meaning and integration in the

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social structure, the norms continue to exist as they fulfill a vital function for the society -- that of resistance against an overwhelming foe. They offer one of the few opportunities left to this remnant of a society to express in a reasonably effective form the accumulated hatred of 120 years of misery.

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Conclusions

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The above data possess considerable implications for anthropology and other related disciplines, as well as for students of Polynesia. /117/ First, the study has served to alter and revise the perspective with which Marquesan sexual behavior has been viewed for 20 years.

The quantity of the data and the detail in which it was recorded provide a good foundation for an evaluation of previous ethnographic reports and historical sources, and throw considerable light on aboriginal sexual behavior. Throughout the actual collection of the data and the subsequent comparative studies, it was apparent that Linton's widely quoted report on Marquesan sexual behavior was often considerably at variance with historical data, reports of other ethnographers and the data of the present study. Certain statements in Linton's report which could be checked with actual records (i.e., population, death/birth and male/female ratios) were completely unsubstantiated. It should be noted that Linton's article contains no bibliographic references for the objective data which he purports to include -- thus making an evaluation even more difficult. Other statements, which were not quantitative but still could be checked against other sources (i.e., nursing of children, child feeding, economic role of women, etc.), appeared to be equally groundless. Finally, in the admittedly more subjective areas of interpretation, the conclusions reached by Linton about the status and role of women in Marquesan society are so much at variance with the basic data, and depend so much on the unsubstantiated claims discussed previously that there is little reason to regard them as valid any longer.

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The discrepancies encountered in comparing the Linton report with other sources on Marquesan culture are also encountered when going /118/ further afield; comparing the Linton report with data available from elsewhere in Polynesia (Mead, Metraux, Ferdon). If Linton's views were to be accepted, the Marquesan culture would be completely atypical for the rest of Polynesia. The present data show, however, that there is a considerable area of similarity between the sexual behavior of the Samoans and that of the Marquesans despite the considerable distance, both geographical and chronological, which separates these two cultures. In Easter Island, relatively closer in space and time to the Marquesan culture, similarities in sexual behavior are also apparent, despite the heavy acculturation that occurred on that island in the past century.

While casting considerable doubt on the validity of many of Linton's statements and conclusions, the present study demonstrated rather clearly the superior quality of E. S. C. Handy's ethnography (1923), corroborating the statements and conclusions of this author time and again. Unfortunately, it is Linton's version of Marquesan culture which has been most widely used among non-Polynesianists. In view of the fact that it was prepared for and published in Kardiner's volume on personality and culture, it is little wonder that it has become current in the writings of that particular area of the behavioral sciences.

In addition to demonstrating the distortions implicit in Linton's view of Marquesan sexual behavior in particular and culture in general, the present study presents an interesting case of the dynamics of culture change. In Marquesan society, so severely shattered by the French /119/ colonization, native social organization is almost a meaningless form: the obliteration of countless statuses and roles, the tremendous conflicts engendered between aboriginal and introduced roles have all acted to break down the social structure to an absolutely minimal residue of its former self. In many other areas of the culture (art, technology, music, etc.) most of the culture content has vanished without a trace, yet in the area of

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behavior which has been under the most severe attack by mission and colonial government alike, there is a remarkable carry over of many behavioral traits which are of such a minor order that they might well have been expected to disappear along with so much of the rest of the culture. The survival of these traits is particularly unusual in view of the fact that the social system which gave them significance no longer exists, yet the traits live on. 182 121

It is suggested that aboriginal forms of sexual behavior have become a symbol of resistance for the Marquesans, and that it is this which has contributed to their unusual longevity when compared with the rest of the native culture. Like the native language which is used as a weapon, the sexual habits of the Marquesans are a means of inflicting psychological damage on the white intruders, and are especially aimed at the vulnerable figure of the missionary, who is the symbol of authority in most localities and against whom resentment is often overt. 182 831

Thus, Marquesan sexuality today is seen to be a rather unusual complex of aboriginal survivals with some recent additions resulting from acculturation, preserved in its present form by virtue of the fact that /120/ it serves a function for which it was not originally destined -- that of expressing antagonism toward colonial-missionary rule in one of the only ways presently permissible.

Changes are occurring now, especially among those presently entering adolescence, and these changes appear to be occurring at a more rapid rate than has been seen to the present. Whether or not this is a result of increased efforts at social control on the part of the missionaries or to increased integration into the outside world will require additional studies at future dates to trace the changes whose first evidence has been noted here. 178 831